

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN LAHUL, KĀNGRA DISTRICT, PANJĀB.

By WALTER ASBOE.

THE chief social functions in Lahul occur during the first two months of the Tibetan year which begins in February. When making detailed enquiries about the various festivals held by the people, my informant began his account by saying: "In ancient times humans and gods mixed freely with one another, but in those far off days, men were grossly ignorant. In course of time they grew intelligent, taking no heed of the gods, and placing no faith in them. The gods, however, on realizing that the humans were becoming too wise for them, grew jealous and made themselves invisible. They then took vengeance upon humans by causing their crops to fail, bringing disease upon the cattle, and doing all manner of harm. In this way the gods caused men to put their faith in them; since when, everyone down the ages has endeavoured to propitiate them."

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With this statement as a background for an account of social functions in Western Tibet, one can the more readily understand the meticulous attention paid to the performance of numerous sacrifices of food to the gods.

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NEW YEAR FESTIVAL.

The New Year Festival begins on the tenth to the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the Tibetan calendar, care being taken that the New Year Festival shall not fall on a Saturday or a Sunday. This festival lasts seven days.

On the evening of the first day, the ceremony of burning the *Haldra*¹ (bundles of juniper sticks) at the cross-roads is performed.

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The various offerings made to the gods during the *Haldra* ceremony are:—

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1. *Haldra*—a bundle of sticks of varying sizes, made out of pieces cut from the cypress-like juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) and tied together with willow twigs. Three dried flowers are also inserted between the sticks.
2. *Mar-zan*—barley flour, salt, butter, and water mixed together, and hollowed so as to allow melted butter to be poured in it, the whole being placed in a bell metal vessel.
3. *Kal-chor*—a beer pot containing beer. On each side of the spout a thumb print (*tahod*) of butter and flour is made, and one at a point where the handle of the pot meets the rim.
4. *Sang-shū*—a metal vessel containing juniper berries, and young pointed sprouts of this tree. Upon these a few live coals (charcoal) are placed resulting in a smoke with a pungent odour. This is used at almost all sacred ceremonies. (See illustrations below).

¹ *Haldra*, also *hal-do* in Lahul Tibetan.—H. I. S.

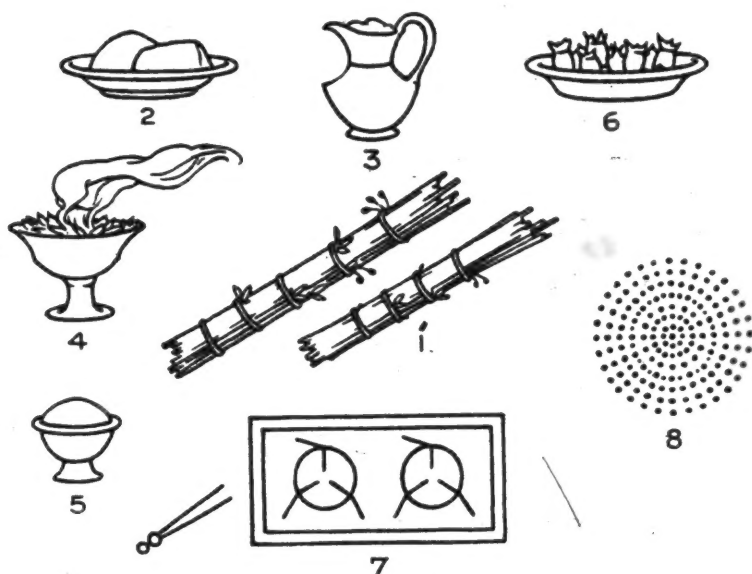
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The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-zon* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

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The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-zon* offering is transferred to the

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *Haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-zon*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gens*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (! *T. ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= *T. thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *aldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rai-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha m̄i sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison. [789]

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang r̄asa ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāpa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).¹

Crowd: *Hai sha.*

Old Man: *Gus-pa r̄asa sho sha* (a curse on a Rāpa at Gus).²

Crowd: *Hai sha.*

Old Man: *Ch̄u-mig' cham chim* (a spell).

Crowd: *Hai sha.*

Old Man: *Lang-ma pan-p̄n* (a spell).

Crowd: *Hai sha.*

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rai-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *aldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (Shil).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-r̄asa

(Oh King Balarasa)

Ser-gi ka-i bars chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gsar*, gold)

(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-i bars chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *ngul*, silver)

(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-i dung-ma bars chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)

(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

¹ Probably means "Shoot (*ka-pa*) the rāpa of Kardang."

² Probably means "May the rāpa of Gus be destroyed,"—H. L. S.

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Hara mu-tig' bara chod gyö
(Grant me a pearl necklace);

Dukah po-shel-gyi bara chod gyö
(Grant me two large beads of coral);

Rin-po-che-i sna-tshogs-gi bara chod gyö
(Grant me various kinds of precious jewels);

Lu-gu dro-mar ya-so chan-gyi bara chod gyö
(Grant me a sheep with red and yellow on the breast, and black and white on its hind-quarters, and one with upper teeth);

Gi-ling sta-i bara chod gyö
(Grant me a unicorn).

Third day (Tshod).—At daybreak, two men from each house go to the village sacred tree taking Flour and water offering (*Drang-ryyas*), *Kal-chor*, Butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gyen-tai*) about 3 inches long, *Sang-shü*.

When offering these they say:—

Chod, chod yul-la dai ling dai-dai kyen (Oh worshipful Dayling god);
Innog' sol-tang ra-zhi (May the offering never be exhausted);

Hing shog' za-tang tung tang ra-zhi (May we always have food and drink);
Lo lag' zhi panta bir-zhi (May we have a happy and prosperous year);

Nad' don tas-i gulai kuat-chi want-i-ra (May disease of every kind be abolished).
Chod (saying this, parts of offering are scattered).

Chod, chod yul-la dai dai kor-shig' yor-shig' kyen (Oh worshipful god and your hosts):
A-kung-chi so-a-ti bon-cha tad-da (May not a single tooth fall out of my mouth);

Bu shag'-chi kra ti-ki bon-cha tad-da (May not a hair fall from my head);
Bang dog' tsö-ag'-ti zuk dai tad-da (May not a thorn pierce my foot).

Ma shes na rig' tham-chad zod-pqr sol-tira (If I have erred unwittingly by failing to pay
you reverence, please forgive).

Chod (saying this, more offerings are scattered).

Fourth Day (Bang-mur).—A little before sunset, all the villagers assemble before a neighbour's house, each householder carrying *mur* (a vessel containing sprouts of juniper, and balls of butter the size of a tennis ball), and a plate holding five measures of roasted barley (*buk*), also a butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gi-ra-bo*). Whilst offering these the prayer already quoted is offered to the village god. The remainder of the roasted barley and butter are then mixed together in a large vessel, and divided amongst the villagers who take it to their homes.

When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

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A.

"In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ö-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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In ancient times the age was propitious ;
 When a throne of glass was erected ;
 Someone was seated on that throne.
 Who was seated there ?
 Rejoicing relations and friends were seated there,
 So says the Lord of the gods.
 Blessed are they who sit in the midst of the throne."

Then follows an invocation to the local god, sung to a different tune :—

B.

" In a house like this may a son be born to me ;
 May I be preserved from attack by enemies and robbers ;
 May I get a field large enough to be ploughed by a hundred yoke of oxen ; and may
 no hail fall upon it ;
 May I receive beer as sweet as treacle to dissipate disease ;
 May I receive a hundred thousand thrones of gold ;
 May the All-conquering *Śākya Thubpa* who delivers men from hell, lead us in this life
 and the next into the path to heaven.
 May I have a benign father wearing an ear ornament on his person, a mother who
 suckles me, a loving sister, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
 May I obtain a dwelling good for my soul, a loving wife, a good watch dog to guard
 me day and night, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
 May I get a swift pony, heedless of ups and downs, a good tent, and a hundred thousand
 relatives as useful to me as my own shoulder."

This invocation sung, another hymn to the local deity is raised by the assembled people :—

C.

" At the summit of the Eastern hills the trunks of the beeches have grown ;
 There the king of the birds of prey settles.
 May we prosper, may we prosper.
 At the summit of the Southern hills the trunks of the sandal tree have grown ;
 There the king of the peacocks settles.
 May we prosper, may we prosper.
 At the summit of the Western hills, the reeds have grown ;
 There the talking parrot settles.
 May we prosper, may we prosper.
 At the summit of the Northern hills,
 The trunks of the willow trees have grown.
 There the king of the sparrows settles.
 May we prosper, may we prosper.

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At the summit of the celestial mountains,

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The broom has grown.

There the ravens settle.

May we prosper, may we prosper."

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On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

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On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer:—

D.

"About this time you came to us.

Until you arrive again at this time next year,

May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-ryyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of:—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-ryyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

796 At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hle-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hle-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

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782 Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tai*, a sacrifice of meat and salt (*tsā-cha*), bread (*ts-gir*), biscuit (*klur-re*), roasted barley flour (*tsam-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*poi-mur*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kal-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kal-tai*), a bundle of sticks (*kaltra*) and a *drang-rygas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai shorū-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *kaltra* and *kal-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mur*), *kal-chor*, and *drang-rygas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kal-tai*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

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533 At the festival of *Ab-ring* (1st month, 18th-19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-murts*, when the males of the village join in singing the following song:—

E.

"They say,

This year will be a prosperous one,

On the plain a fire is burning;

There is a yak on the plain,

There is a *dao-po* on the plain.

There is a ram on the plain.

There is a house on the plain.

There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.

There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.

There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.

With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

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FIG. 2.—OFFERINGS FOR THE Go-tai FESTIVAL.

1s and 1b. *Drang-ryags*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH; 2. *Haldra*, JUNIPER STICKS; 3. *Kal-tai*, SHEEPSKIN TARGET; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 5. *Pai-may*, WHEAT, FLOUR AND BUTTER; 6. *Tald-cha*, PIECE OF MEAT AND SALT; 7. *Mur*, BALLS OF BUTTER ON ROASTED BARLEY GRAIN; 8. *Ta-gir*, BREAD; 9. *Gye-ma*, INTENTIONS OF A SHEEP; 10. *Tam-pa*, BARLEY FLOUR; 11. *Khar-ra*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH CAKES; 12. *Mur-gye-tai*, OFFERING OF AN EFFigy OF A RAM (BUTTER); 13. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 14. *Drang-ryags-ra-to-cha*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH OFFERING SURMOUNTED BY AN EFFigy OF A RAM (BUTTER); 15. *Sang-cha*, INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 17. *Pom*, A BUCKWHEAT LAKE TARGET TO REPRESENT "SHEEP".

796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tsa-tsa-mo-la* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 787 The next day the ceremony of *Buns* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a cake of buckwheat, and *mur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gam-tsa* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th-19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

796 533 The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsoy*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :—

F.

"The *Lai-tsoy* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,

Go away.

Oh, *Drui-ni-rug'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.

Burn urine for oil.

Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.

With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 787 *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and also offer a *Drang-ryas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-li-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Chai-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This



FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, a PLOUGH; 2. *Nyu-shing*, a YOKER FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zan*, a FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kel-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-sha*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zan* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drug-rygas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Ma-ni Tasi-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 At the *Chog-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-ps* (one in whom a god is supposed
782 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
[776] thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

[793] Following closely on this function, comes the *Tasi-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned, perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-su-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the
782 threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung:—

G.

Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.

Refrain : " *Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dao's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dao-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.

Refrain : " *Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.

Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

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The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.

Refrain : " *Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dso-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.

Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.

Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.

Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).

Refrain : " *Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

" May the grain increase ;

As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.

As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.

As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.

As your eyes become like the vowel " O," so may the grain increase.

As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.

As your livers become reddish brown, so may the grain increase.

As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

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796 observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded
771 in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought
to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

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Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-takei kalpa la sangboi lo
Ser tri zhangao la yang ma hlai lo
De ser tri zhangao
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughao.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughao
Ma hlai lo, dai hla yang zhughao
Hla Ö-pam towi lo dai dai nas zhugha
Küli dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashin zoddö.
Ngonsei kalpa hla sangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangao
Ma hlai lo
Dai mul tri zhangao
Dai-ru su zhughao
Dai sumi zhughao
Dai-ru dar-gi hla dai taan-i zhughao
Ma hlai lo dai taan yang zhugha
Teap ryyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughao
Küli dai nas hla zhughi lo dai trashis zoddö.
Ngonstakei kalpa la sangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangao
Dai-ru la sui zhangao
Dai sumi zhughao
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughao
Ma hlai hlai lo dai hlu yang zhugha
Hlu Bumor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhugha
Küli hlai lo dai nas zhughi lo dai trashis zoddö.
Ngon takei kalpa la sangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangao
Dai-ru la su zhughao
Dai sumi zhughao
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughao
Ma hlai lo dai dai nas zhughao
Küli dai nas la zhugha lo dai trashis zoddö.
Ngon takei kalpa la sangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangao
Ma hlai lo dai shel tri zhangao
Dai ru la su zhughao
Dai sumi zhughao.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughao
Küli dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddö.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Yow-i lai la gung-kar drauci shai gung lu toi bu dai
Yow-i dra dang jappo medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

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You-i lai la ma zhing drau'ai shai ma zhing gai dor dai.
 You-i lai la sa dang ser-wa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
 You-i nyun zhi gur chang salwai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
 You-i dai sum ser dang shai gung la tri chig' bum
 Ngansong tilnas drenpai shai chomldan shag' dang chig'
 You-i toris lam la drenpai shai monlam zang dang nies
 You-i tabei di chima zhalwai shai dor-rjei sum
 You-i dai sum ser dang drau'ai shai gungla tri chig' bum
 You-i lu la along nampai shai a zang yab dang chig' shay a zang yab dang chig'
 You-i ma show ngarmo salwai shai a zang yum dang nies
 You-i zhim chu ngar chu salwai bu ering zang dang sum
 You-i dai sum dang drau'ai shai gung la tri chig' bum.
 You-i rinchen shro'f la paupai shai ma kang zang dang chig'
 You-i daraka nampai zhidmad zang dang nies
 You-i nym sum tan sum trappa shai go ki zang dang su
 You-i dai sum ser dang drau'ai shai gong la tri chig' bu
 You-i gen med tur med gyuk pai shai biling zang dang chig'
 You-i dra dang gurui tog' du pup chung zang dang nies
 You-i bumpa lag' nas tempai shai pa spun zang dang sum
 You-i dai sum drau'ai shai gong la tri chig' bum.

Note C.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Choghe ehar choghe la yang rigai ya-la-lo
 Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
 Shing markal la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru trung dai ru trung
 Jar jar rgyud la yang godpo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru bop dai ru bop
 Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
 Traahis zod traahis zod
 Choghe lo choghala yang rigai ya-la-lo
 Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
 Shing tan dala yang dongbo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru trung dai ru trung
 Jar mab jar la yang godpo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru bop dai ru bop
 Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang yang la lo
 Traahis zod traahis zod.
 Choghe nub choghala yang rigai ya-la-lo
 Ri sai ru ri sai ru
 Shing nyugu la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru trung dai ru trung
 Jar naitao la yang la lam kan ya-la-lo
 Dai ru bop dai ru bop
 Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
 Traahis zod traahis zod.
 Choghe jang choghala yang rigai ya-la-lo
 Ri sai ru ri sai ru
 Shing jang kar la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
 Dai ru trung dai ru trung
 Jar kya-ow la yang rgyalpo ya-la-lo

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Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li bahe sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chophe u-chophela yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sei ru ri sei ru
Shing bur tahai la yang danglo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar ya-roq' la yang nak chung ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li bahe sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.

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Note D.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tun sung tai loq' dog' chi
Or shat tai loq' as tog'
Nad tend ma ai yag' ku.

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Note E.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tai tasi mē ma
Tai tasi mē ma
Trashis ru dang lowi shang
Trashis tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Tai tasi mē ma
Tai tasi mē ma
Zin zin ru dang lowi shang
Zin zin tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Zhong zhong ru dang lowi shang
Zhong zhong tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gir gir ru dang lowi shang
Gir gir tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gling ru dang lowi shang
Gling tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Breng breng tai gyul cha stog' wanz gel hak lowi shang
Dampa gro gyastog' sha tuj chag' lowi shang
Chag' dad gro gyastog' mar ppa chag' lowi shang
Pu shag' krui mun ang ling gōi tai lowi shang.

Note F.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Lai toq' ma drung gog ma
Bai bai biang nang bai nu ral
Rai nang tai akyo
Drui ni roq' sa ni bolo gyongbu
Nang hai ahtai sar nang jar
Ki mar mai nang kri chai
Shrangs nang ahir' pet gi stal
Chag' dang gang chai wa so roq'
Gang chawu nam dog' korek
Ma engs ku tai akyo
Ki tai ni bi tasi ni.

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Note G.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

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*Hollo hollo, hollo hollo**Lang chen tanna hiri do**Hiri do hiri do**Dzo-poi racho dung gi racho*

[Note: A "dzo" is a cross between a cow and a yak. A dzo-mo is the female animal.]

*Dzo-moi ngama dar gi poll dur**Hiri do hiri do**Krondri da krondri da mar krondri**Krondri da krondri bear krondri**Hollo hollo, hollo hollo**Kyoptong dar rgyu naro**Nachung mai long yallo**Hiri do hiri do**Ngaro dzomo ri show ma**Pidro dzomo jon show ma**Hollo hollo, hollo hollo**Ül tog' trashi gormow**Sermo nai sil sillo**Hollo hollo, hollo hollo**Täl täl täl na anga**Jib jib jib na nyalla**Hollo hollo, hollo hollo**Nam lange gi ma turi bu bu wot**Ya ratana hiri do**Tulu ja tulu ja**Ei stot touna gang stot**Bangs peri mentog' don han gän*

Note H.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

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*Hong to ro hong to ro**Chong gi rynch-i lu nai hong to ro**Na wa nange hi pa tep lu nai hong to ro**Na nange mai pur-i lu nai hong to ro**Miq' pa hai lu nai hong to ro**Hlo-wa gang ri harpo-i lu nai hong to ro**Chinba ba ju sha wukpo-i lu nai hong to ro**Gyuma hyug' lam hyug' lam lu nai hong to ro*

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[Secular aspects of Lahul ceremonials and festivals are so intimately fused with their religious aspects that no effort was made to isolate them. All descriptions of such activities have been included in category 796.]